

Message Text

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EXDIS

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TAGS: PFOR AO US ZA
SUBJECT: STAFFDEL COUGHLIN MEETING WITH PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER
MARK CHONA

1. SUMMARY. FOLLOWING HIS MEETING AT RESIDENCE WITH FONMIN BANDA (SEPTTEL), STAFFDEL COUGHLIN HAD LONGER BUT LESS FRUITFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER CHONA AT LATTER'S HOME LATE SUNDAY JAN 25. MOST SIGNIFICANT NEW ELEMENT IN CHONA'S THINKING WHICH PREVIOUSLY NOT REPORTED WAS HIS UP-DATING AND REVISED VIEWS ON WHY AIRE-PROPOSED QUADRIpartite MISSION OF AFRICAN MODERATES TO WASHINGTON WAS "INCORRECT"; ZAIRE SHOULD PRESENT ITS OWN CASE INDEPENDENTLY WHICH MODERATES WOULD SUPPORT; AND POSSIBLY SENGHOR AS CHAIRMAN OF AFRICAN MODERATE CAUCUS AT ADDIS WOULD BE MORE REPRESENTATIVE SPOKESMAN FOR MODERATES THAN QUADRIpartite MISSION OF AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS. END SUMMARY.

2. CHONA FLATLY SAID IT WOULD BE "INCORRECT" FOR FOUR ZAIRE-DESIGNATED AFRICAN COUNTRIES (ZAIRE, ZAMBIA, SENEGAL AND IVORY COAST) TO GO TO WASHINGTON TO ARGUE CASE OF MODERATE AFRICAN HOPES FOR ANGOLA. THESE FOUR WOULD ONLY BE SPEAKING FOR THEMSELVES AS A GROUP BUT NOT NECESSARILY FOR THE GROUP OF 23 MODERATES WHICH ZFERGED

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OUT OF OAU SUMMIT AT ADDIS. MISSION OF FOURGN AS ZAIRE

PROPOSED, COULD ONLY CAUSE FRICTIONS AND POSSIBLY RESENTMENT WITHIN THE GROUP OF 23 MODERATES; COULD BE CHALLENGED AS NOT RPT NOT REPRESENTATIVE; AND POSSIBLY MAKE FOLLOWUPTAPPROACH AT EVEN HIGHER LEVEL MORE DIFFICULT.

3. CHONA CONFIRMED WHAT BANDA HAD EARLIER TOLD ME AND COUGHLIN SEPARATELY AND JOINTLY ZHAT ZAIRE CASE FOR US AID URGENT AND IMMEDIATE AND SHOULD BE ADVANCED ON ITS OWN MERITS. THIS CAUSE DESERVING OF AFRICAN SUPPORT WHICH ZAMBIA WOULD GIVE ZAIRE BUT IT SHOULD BE DONE MOST EFFECTIVELY BY ZAIRE ALONE.

4. THEN THINKING ALOUD CHONA ADVANCED WHAT HE SAID WAS A PURELY PERSONAL VIEW (BUT SURELY ONE HE HAD REVIEWED WITH KAUNDA THAT AFTERNOON). SAID PERHAPS BEST WAY OF SOLVING QUESTION OF WHO SPEAKS FOR AFRICAN MODERATES IN ANY APPROACH TO WASHINGTON WOULD BE TO HAVE A MAN LIKE PRESIDENT SENGHOR OF SENEGAL GO IN NAME OF 23 WHO OPPOSED MPLA RECOGNITION AT OAU SUMMIT. SENGHOR AS CHAIRMAN OF MODERATE CAUCUS AT ADDIS WOULD HAVE AUTOMATIC ACCEPTANCE AND SUPPORT OF GROUP OF 23 AND OBVIOUSLY BE IN "CORRECT POSITION" TO SPEAK WITH AUTHORITY FOR 23 IN CONTRAST WITH PROPOSED GROUP OF 4 FOREIGN MINISTERS.

5. AS HE HAD DONE PREVIOUS WEEKEND WITH CODEL BOWEN, CHONA GOT IN A FEW BARBED REMARKS ABOUT SLOW-REACTING US BUREAUCRACY WHICH TOOK SO MUCH TIME TO APPRECIATE SIGNIFICANCE OF EARLY WARNING SIGNALS OF POLITICAL THREATS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND WHICH NOW MIGHT NOT ACT WITH ALL NECESSARY DISPATCH IN FACE OF CRITICAL SITUATION CONFRONTING SAVIMBI'S UNITA ON CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ANGOLAN FRONTS. CHONA STRESSED UTTER INADEQUACY OF SAVIMBI'S ARMS IN CONTRAST TO SUPERIOR SOVIET-CUBAN WEAPONRY WHICH EVEN SOUTH AFRICA COULD NOT MATCH AND WHICH WAS A FACTOR IN ITS WITHDRAWAL.

6. ONE REASON, I EXPLAINED, MAY BE BECAUSE OF STRICT US EMBARGO ON SHIPMENT OF ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA. TO THIS CHONA MADE A FEW QUIPS CONSTITUTING THE SLIGHTEST HINT THAT MAYBE THAT US POLICY HAD SERVED ITS PURPOSE AND WAS NOW OUTMODED. IN ANSWER TO COUGHLIN'S QUESTION, CHONA INDICATED SOUTH

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AFRICANS MAY BE IN PROCESS OF WITHDRAWING BUT HE DOUBTED THEY WOULD BE OUT OF ANGOLA FOR GOOD.

7. COMMENT. UNFORTUNATELY CHONA WAS IN ONE OF HIS OCCASIONAL PROFESSORIAL AND LECTURING MOODS, FOCUSING MAINLY ON BASIC CONCEPTS GOVERNING NATURE OF FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN ANGOLA. AS CHONA SAID HE HAD SPEND FIVE HOURS THAT AFTERNOON WITH PRES

KAUNDA, WE ASSUME HIS REVISED THINKING CRITICAL OF ZAIRE
PROPOSAL FOR QUADRIpartite APPROACH TO WASHINGTON REFLECTS
DISTILLATION OF KAUNDA'S VIEWS AS WELL. BELIEVE KAUNDA
MAY BE IN PROCESS OF COMMUNICATING WITH SENGHOR ON POSSIBLE
TRIP TO WASHINGTON TO SEAK FOR 23 AFRICAN MODERATES. ALSO
BELIEVE WE CAN EXPECT KAUNDA TO CONTINUE--AS HE DELIBERATELY
DID AT ADDIS--TO PERSUADE OTHER AFRICANS TO GET OUT IN FRONT
IN ADVANCING CAUSE OF MODERATES BECAUSE OF DELICATE POLITICAL
PROBLEMS HE HAS IN RELATIONS WITH TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE,
ALSO BECAUSE HE IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY SENSITIVE TO
CRITICISM OF MEMBERS OF ZAMBIAN PARLIAMENT, UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS AND BUSINESSMEN CONCERNING WHAT THEY REGARD AS
"OVER INVOLVEMENT WITH FOREIGN POLICY" AT TIME WHEN ZAMBIA'S
ECONOMY CRITICALLY DEPRESSED AND THERE NO RPT NO
CLEAR POL FY LINES AS TO HOW COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
WILL BE RESOLVED.
WILKOWSKI

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